

Nation-Wide Mobilization in Washington Advances the Struggle for Equal Rights

Major Cities Rally Behind Pilgrimage

By Henry Gitano

A feeling of freedom is in the air, as 50,000 to 100,000 Negroes and whites are preparing to make equal rights a reality by marching on Washington, May 17. Converging on the nation's capital by planes, buses, motorcades and freedom trains will be reinforcements for the greatest mass demonstration against Jim Crow.

Letters, telegrams and phone calls are pouring into the national headquarters of the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, as the march is officially called, reporting broad grass-roots backing. Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, one of the leaders of the successful Montgomery Bus boycott and Southern Director for the march is currently touring the South, from whence 15,000 freedom fighters will go to Washington. Birmingham, Ala., has pledged 1,500 people; Mobile, Ala., 500; New Orleans, La., 1,500; Montgomery, Ala., 1,000. Other cities follow this pattern. Undergirding the national scope of the march is the chartering of planes from the West Coast; a contingent of over 3,000 will travel cross country.

UAW CONTINGENTS

Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and William Oliver, co-director of the UAW's Fair Employment Practices Dept. issued a statement which said in part, that "terror and violence have been substituted" for implementation of the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court school integration decision. The statement insists that all locals send delegations to the capital; Washington's Hotel 2400 is being reserved for UAW participants.

Detroit is readying its transportation for the May 17 rally. Meetings of the UAW, NAACP, and the Ministerial Alliances have been held to coordinate

(Continued on page 4)

Tallahassee Helped Pave The Road

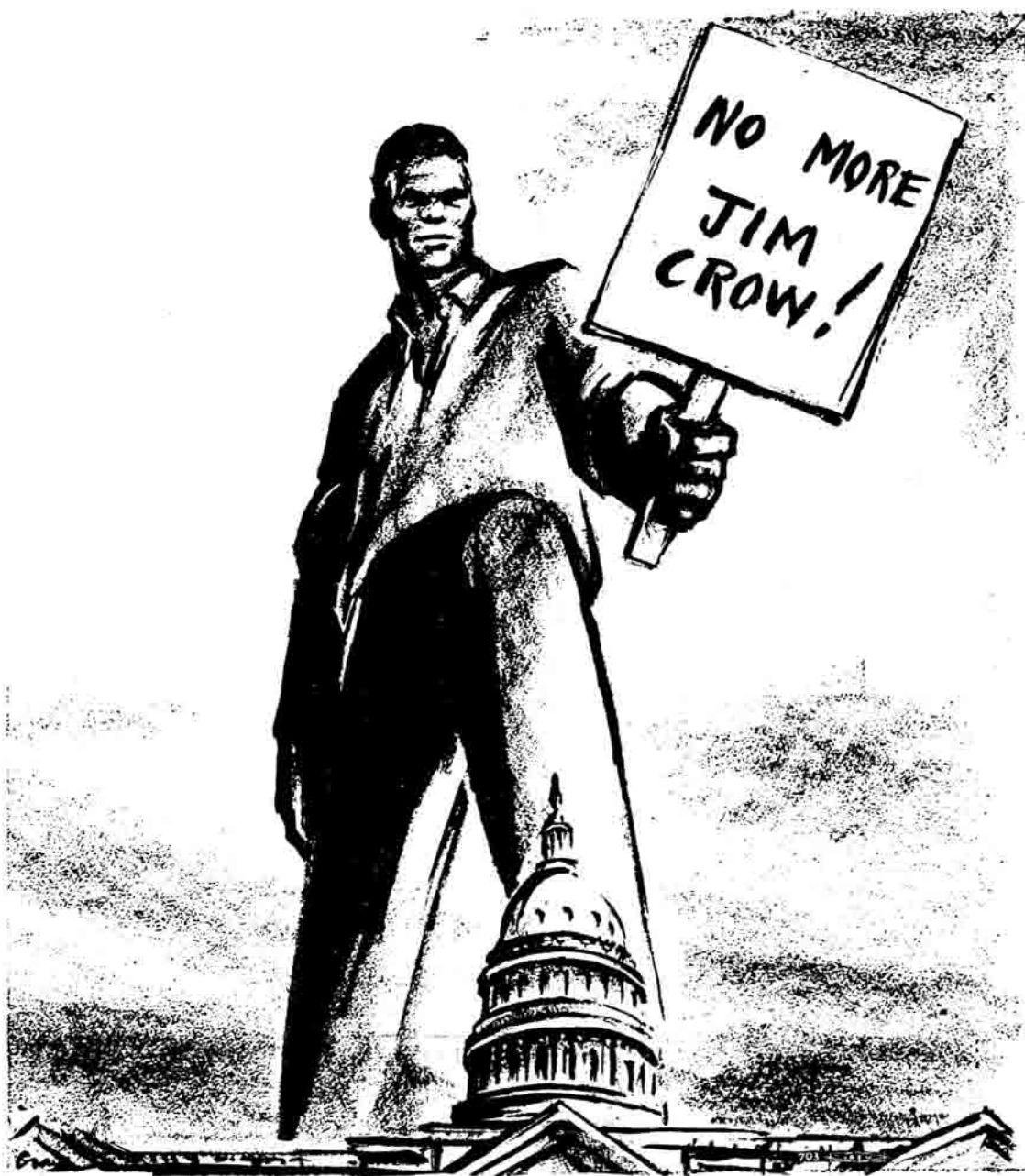
Stepping off Greyhound buses in Washington on May 17 will be representatives of the proud warriors from Tallahassee, Fla. who have been on the firing line for a solid year, echoing in a voice 15,000 strong the determination voiced by a bus boycott: "When you are choking me, I say to you: turn me loose now, not gradually."

Tallahassee's bus protest, following in Montgomery's footsteps, established the pattern of independent mass action to smash Jim Crow. On May 28, 1956, two Negro coeds challenged segregation on the buses by sitting next to a white woman. Their arrest sparked a spontaneous demonstration by students who threw a human cordon around the bus. The boycott spread rapidly to the entire Tallahassee community which proclaimed that it refused to live a life of insults.

STRUGGLE BROADENS

From the fight against segregated bus seating which became a symbol of the hated system under which the Negro is herded to the rear, the struggle, led by the Inter-Civic Council, has grown more all-embracing. On April 30, the ICC stirred Florida's capital when it petitioned

(Continued on page 4)



Conference of British Socialist Forums

By Peter Fryer
Special Militant Correspondent

LONDON — After the Hamersmith Congress of the British Communist Party, the antidote. The conference of Socialist Forums held in Yorkshire last week end was both a breath of fresh air and a milestone in the rebirth of British Communism.

It was more. It proved that anti-Stalinist Marxists of widely differing shades of opinion can discuss amicably for 24 hours, agree to differ on questions of principle, yet find more common ground than anyone would have dared to predict the day before the conference met.

STAY IN FIGHT

And it proved that the 7,000 British Communists who quit the party before the 25th Congress, plus the thousands who are now streaming out, are not disintegrating, as the King Street bureaucracy and the Right-wing press alike prophesied they would.

On the contrary, they are staying together and seeking ways of re-fashioning a Communist movement in Britain. Now in saying this I do not want to blur the differences that are already quite evident within the Socialist Forums that have sprung up all over Britain in the past six months, and at which Communists, ex-Communists of every vintage from '27 to '57, Labor Party Lefts, members of various Marxist groups and "uncommitted" Socialists come together in the localities for frank and free discussion.

Already there are signs of a polarization within the Forum movement. There are those who tend to seek shelter under the social-democratic umbrella. There are others who are just in the first flush of excitement at reading books that for years they had not even suspected the existence of, books which were on an index of prohibition as rigid and obscurantist as any Vatican list. Their horizons have suddenly and dramatically broadened.

But the important thing at the moment — and the important thing about this national conference — is the agreement to go on discussing, to go on exchanging

views, to embark on joint studies of such subjects as the present stage of development of capitalism and the history of the British working-class movement — studies in which all can pool their ideas.

TO STUDY STALINISM

There is agreement, too, to continue to organize protest meetings against violations of liberty in East and West alike, to support the movement for colonial freedom and the campaign against the Hydrogen bomb and H-bomb tests.

Above all there is agreement that one of the principal tasks of the Forum movement is to devote careful attention to studying why and how the Stalinist bureaucracy arose in the Soviet Union.

For the highlight of the conference, more important even than the opening lecture by Professor Hyman Levy on the subject "Why Marxism is Unim-

paired," was a lecture by a CP member of 23 years standing, who for the time being is preserving his anonymity.

His subject was "Lessons of the Stalin Era." He called for a re-examination of the controversies of the 1920's, particularly that on "socialism in one country."

He suggested that this idea might have been the ideology of a bureaucracy seeking some justification for its rule in the eyes of Soviet workers and workers abroad.

The lecturer said that in his studies of the development of Soviet society he had found most valuable such writings of Leon Trotsky as *The New Course* — "it is quite uncanny to read this now" — *The Real Situation in Russia* and *The Revolution Betrayed*.

"I make a particular point of saying this," he went on, "because I have made something of a specialty of baiting the Trotskyists and speaking and writ-

ing against them, and I must say it seems to me one of the most regrettable features of my political career."

HELP SOVIET WORKERS

He said it was essential to shake off the one-sided relationship of subservience to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "not only for the sake of our own movement, but for the sake of the Soviet comrades also. If we have a feeling of solidarity with the Soviet people we cannot show it better than by very honestly and frankly coming out over such things as the events in Hungary."

While the bureaucracy might not submit without some rather sharp fights, and it might come to some kind of political revolution, there was no scope for a social revolution in the USSR. That was at the basis of his attitude of friendship for the Soviet people plus criticism of the Soviet authorities.

He concluded: "We must asso-

ciate ourselves with the majority of the Soviet people who are struggling by many means, political, literary and others, to bring about an all-important adjustment in the nature of Soviet society."

The effect of this 60-minute lecture can only be described as sensational. It contained such evidence of really profound and honest re-thinking, and the arguments and facts were so clearly marshalled, that those who had come prepared to have a few digs at the "Trotsky" were silenced.

And one distinguished CP professor wrote a note and passed it across to a well-known Trotskyist comrade asking which books of Trotsky's were available, "and in what order should I read them?"

There was an interesting discussion on whether the Forums should become a new political party. The general consensus of opinion was that they should not

(Continued on page 3)

Union Delegations Help Cement the Unity That is Need to Topple Jim Crow Rule

By the Editors

We extend our warmest fraternal greetings to the tens of thousands who will rally on May 17, in Washington, D.C., in a giant protest demonstration against Jim Crow. This inspiring nation-wide action marks another big advance in the great crusade of the Negro people to win their just demand for complete economic, political and social equality.

In paying tribute to all of the men and women who are turning out for this protest rally, we believe a special salute is in order for the trail-blazing freedom fighters from Montgomery, Alabama, who have done so much to make the Prayer Pilgrimage possible.

Montgomery stands as today's living symbol of the fact that organized, mass rank-and-file action can deal effective blows to the Jim Crow system. On Dec. 5, 1955, the Negro community of that city launched its bus protest movement as a demonstration of solidarity with Rosa Parks, the heroic seamstress who preferred jail to further racist humiliation and abuse.

Mass Action Gets Results

The splendidly organized rank-and-file movement that then organized itself in the Montgomery Improvement Association knocked out Jim Crow on the Montgomery buses. It won a historic Supreme Court decision declaring Jim Crow travel illegal everywhere. Its continuing resolute action is serving to put teeth into the court's decision. And above all else, the people of Montgomery have served to inspire the Negro people and their white allies everywhere to intensify the struggle.

Much credit is also due the delegations from the big Northern cities — from New York, Chicago, Detroit and elsewhere. The huge turnout for the giant protest demonstrations against the cruel and wanton murder of young Emmett Till in 1955 contributed greatly to sparking the present high wave of militant struggle against racist oppression.

Particularly heartening is the representation in the protest rally of sizeable delegations from the trade unions. By getting behind this action such unions as the United Auto Workers, the Packinghouse Workers, the Garment Workers and District 65 of New York, are contributing a double service. In throwing their weight behind the Negro struggle for equality these unions are not only supporting a just cause, as is their moral obligation, but at the same time they are acting in the best interests of their own membership — both Negro and white.

The Need to March Together

Such united action by organized labor and the movement of the Negro people is indispensable for advancing the interests of both. This alliance will prove to be the only force capable of smashing the anti-labor, anti-Negro rulers of the South who have long oppressed both white and Negro working people through a policy of "divide and rule."

We can be assured that the outcry of protest in the nation's capital against racist violence will echo throughout the land. It will be heard by all and it will serve mightily to advance the struggle. It will help to further cement the bond between the unions and the Negro people. It will place added rank-and-file pressure on the official leadership of the labor movement to get going on the job which has been delayed too long already — the unionization of the South on a completely integrated basis. Such an organizing drive will kick the props out from under the backers of the ugly White Citizens Councils and the reviving Ku Klux Klan.

Toward a Workers Government

With the active support of the labor movement, the Negro people will have an even greater opportunity to build and strengthen such vital organizations as the one which brought victory in Montgomery.

And finally, as this mighty demonstration looms over the White House and the halls of Congress, the key fact is underscored that the battle against Jim Crow is a political battle against both the Republican and Democratic parties — North and South — who are joined in criminal conspiracy to maintain the white supremacist system so profitable for the Big Business interests they both unswervingly represent.

To effectively combat the pro-segregation policy — pursued despite fine promises — by both major parties, it is essential that organized labor and the Negro people build their own party, a labor party capable of fighting for the political interests of the great majority of the people of this land.

As we raise our voices against Jim Crow let us also determine to work for an end to Big Business rule over the country — for an end to the system that breeds Jim Crow.

DEMOCRATS STILL DUCKING CIVIL RIGHTS

By Myra Tanner Weiss

MAY 6 — The National Committee of the Democratic Party, meeting last week-end in Washington had another opportunity to dodge the civil rights issue that is staring it in the face with the coming May 17 protest gathering in the capital. The Americans for Democratic Action pressed the National Committee to fight for adequate civil rights legislation charging Democratic Senators with "delay and deceit." After a brief polemical exchange, the liberals agreed with the racists to receive and file the ADA comments but to take no further action.

There is nothing new in this dodge of the civil rights fight by the Democratic Party. It is only the latest move in a long record of effective obstruction to any congressional action in defense of the most elementary rights of the Negro people. Combined with Republican do-nothingism, it all adds up to Congressional bankruptcy be-

fore the demands of the civil rights movement.

The civil rights program proposed by Eisenhower a year ago was no more than a gesture toward meeting the demands of the fighters for civil rights. It fell far short of the election promises of even the Republican Party. Yet even this token support of equal rights was emasculated in the House of Representatives. The Southern racists succeeded with little effort in removing from the civil rights bill the two proposals which might conceivably give the segregationists trouble.

The Eisenhower program proposed to empower the Attorney General to institute suits against those guilty of discrimination. This power was amended so that only the victim of discrimination can institute legal proceedings — a right the victim already possesses. The bill was also amended so that the Attorney General can seek preventive injunctions only when it can be demonstrated that an employer or an election board "in-

tended" to discriminate in an objectionable procedure.

With the civil rights bill toned down to little more than "investigating" action, it was passed in the House Rules Committee and shuttled off to one procedural obstacle after another. It's not difficult to predict even more difficulties for this innocuous bill when it reaches the Senate — if it does — later in this Congressional session.

Even if one considers that the original Eisenhower civil rights proposal would have been a help in the fight against the segregationists, where is the fight of the Administration for the program it sponsored? For the "right" to send U.S. troops to the Middle East, Eisenhower went to Congress in person to appeal for his program. He threatened to go directly to the American people to answer opposition to his monstrous \$72 billion war budget. But for even the mildest civil rights legislation, Eisenhower has done nothing to "get his way."

All of this boils down to the

fact that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have any serious intention of aiding the struggle against Jim Crow. They probably wouldn't even mention the matter, if the American people weren't as angry as they are over the terror campaign of the White Citizens Councils. The capitalist politicians can't avoid at least a mention of the issue in which the American people are so concerned. And so far promises and brave words have cost them nothing.

All that has been gained in the struggle for civil rights has been won by the efforts of the Negro people alone, particularly in the South. It was this struggle, plus the world-wide upsurge of the colored people of Africa and Asia that won concessions. The historic ruling of the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, was based on the fact that the previous "separate but equal" ruling of the Court became untenable in the face of world opinion and mass opposition at home to Jim Crow. The

"separate" always meant unequal and the Court could no longer bear the major responsibility for Jim Crow divisions.

In the long run it will be of little import whether a Congressional gesture toward support of the fight for civil rights is made or not. The Negro people have few illusions about either the Democratic or Republican parties. In this respect the Negro people are showing the way to the whole labor movement which is still tied hand and foot to capitalist politics.

NEED LABOR PARTY

The struggle against the White Citizens Councils therefore resolves itself into the struggle against the political policy of the labor bureaucracy and the official leadership of the Negro movement. Such a struggle must lead to the formation of an independent labor party which will set the defeat of these terrorist organizations as the first objective.

Negro workers in the labor movement can and will play a

decisive role in this struggle. With their advanced understanding and militancy there is already a foundation for the leap of the labor movement into independent political action.

The task is to broaden this significant minority in the union movement. Even a minority of white workers, united with the Negro minority, constitute enough strength to defeat the labor bureaucrats in their policy of company-unionism in politics. And a break-through toward independent political action is all that is needed.

Once the mass of Negro people and unorganized workers see in the labor movement an alternative to the stinking status quo, they will be fired with new capacity for struggle. The whole American people will see the possibility of a different future than that offered by the Democrats or Republicans. They will see something in the future besides nuclear war, insecurity and Jim Crow.

Militant Headlines Tell History of March on Washington



The highlights of the movement of the Negro people for a mass March on Washington to demand full equality is graphically depicted in the above selection of headlines from the Militant, dating back to 1941. The movement which reached a high point at the beginning of World War II, suffered a decline after the July 1941 march was called off. The march is now scheduled for this May 17.

The 1941 March-on-Washington Story as Recorded in the Militant

By Murry Weiss

The idea of a mass March on Washington to lay the demands of Negro people before the government has played an important part in the civil rights struggle of the past. Now that a march on Washington is actually set for May 17, under the official name of Prayer Pilgrimage, it is instructive to review the MOW movement at the beginning of the Second World War. We can trace some of the highlights of this movement from the pages of the Militant.

The June 21, 1941 issue of the Militant called for all-out support to a scheduled July 1 March on Washington.

OLD WAYS DON'T WORK

The idea for a July 1, 1941 March on Washington arose, as its main spokesman A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters Union put it, because "the whole National Defense Set-up reeks and stinks with race prejudice and discrimination... Responsible committees of Negroes who seek to intercede in behalf of the Negro being ac-

corded the simple right to work in industries and jobs serving National Defense and to serve in the Army, Navy and Air Corps, are given polite assurance that Negroes will be given a fair deal. But it all ends there... Evidently, the regular, normal and respectable method of conferences and petitions... don't work." Randolph called for action in the form of a march of 10,000 Negroes to Washington.

In the June 21, 1941 Militant weaknesses in the preparation of the March are criticized and the arguments of the Pittsburgh Courier against the action are taken up. The Courier editors proposed that instead of the March the most effective way of influencing Congress and the Administration is by "personal letters and telegrams from individuals, societies, church congregations, clubs and fraternities; by memorials and resolutions sent to both Houses and by intelligent personal representation." To this the Militant replied:

"What good have all the resolutions, letters, telegrams, memorials and intelligent personal representations" done so far? Has it gotten any jobs in the war industries? Has it diminished by one inch the segregation in the armed forces?"

In answer to the Pittsburgh Courier's argument that a March would not tell the Washington Administration anything that it didn't already know the Militant said:

SOMETHING NEW

"A successful and gigantic demonstration in Washington that presented a militant set of demands on the administration, a demonstration that showed that the Negro people are ready to do more than send telegrams, that showed they are ready to fight Jim Crow—that would certainly tell Washington something it doesn't already know!"

On June 28, 1941 the Militant commented editorially on a statement issued by President Roosevelt, "urging" employers to "examine" their employment policies with respect to hiring Negro workers. The editorial said:

"Other than voicing a pious sentiment, there is not one phrase in the statement which indicates that Roosevelt intends to take any action whatsoever against those employers who continue their discriminatory practice.

Roosevelt... [is] concerned now about the increasing protests which the Negro people, asked to support the war for 'democracy,' are raising against the whole vile system of Jim Crow. And they're not only talking about it; they are preparing to take action against it. That action is a Negro March on Washington, planned for July 1."

The editorial points out, "the mere threat of a march on Washington has forced this reluctant utterance from Roosevelt. That in itself demonstrates the effectiveness of a program of militant, organized action." It goes on to warn: "But it will take the march itself... and greater actions involving millions of workers, white and Negro, before Roosevelt and his class will be forced to discontinue the system of Negro discrimination, the system which has proved so useful to the bosses in keeping the workers divided among themselves."

In the July 5, 1941 Militant we read: "The Negro March on Washington, scheduled for July 1, has been called off. Thousands of Negroes, preparing to leave for the demonstration, with the promises of the official March

leaders still ringing in their ears, at the last minute heard A. Philip Randolph, over the radio Saturday night, declare that 'the March is unnecessary at this time.'"

The article describes how the calling off of the March "ended a hectic ten day period during which the Roosevelt administration had used every ace it had up its sleeve and which ended in the March being called off only because the Randolph-White leadership was willing to 'compromise' and call it off if they were offered something they could use to save face before the thousands who insisted on the March going through until all their demands were granted. Roosevelt finally granted them this face-saving device in his 'executive order' of June 25."

Subsequent events showed that only when the pressure of mass action was exerted did the Negro people win any significant concessions in their fight for full economic, social and political equality. That fight is far from over. And the current movement for a March on Washington demonstrates that mass action is still the only way to victory.



"Here they come!" Negro and white workers pour out of the Chevrolet Gear and Axle, Detroit's largest GM plant at 11 A.M., Nov. 21, 1945, to begin the famous post-war GM strike. Members of UAW-CIO in 102 plants throughout the country hit the bricks 225,000 strong for 113 days in the biggest industrial strike in U.S. history. Their solidarity broke the war-time wage freeze, won the biggest wage increase to that date, and smashed all hopes of Big Business to bust unions by pitting veterans against unions or white against Negro.

Nixon's Recent Visit to Africa — A Double-Barrelled Swindle

By George Lavan

The recent highly publicized African tour of Vice-President Nixon served two purposes. Domestically, it was a continuing part of the administration's campaign to build up Nixon as the Republican "friend of the Negro people." This cynical politician who "protected" his property in Whittier, California, with a restrictive covenant against Negroes and other "undesirable" people, has for some years now been assigned the task of wooing the Negro vote by appearing at NAACP conventions, presiding over that phony, toothless substitute for FEPC, the federal contract compliance committee, etc. Now, when the Negro people of the U.S. are justly proud of the independence won by Ghana, the administration sends Nixon into that limelight thus reinforcing the carefully built up illusion that he is particularly associated with the aspirations of the Negro people.

The second purpose served by Nixon's tour of Africa was a foreign policy one. The United States, as the only solid pillar of what is left of world capitalism, has to direct imperialism all over the world. As its take-over in the Middle East from French and British imperialism showed, it is no longer willing to let the has-been imperialist powers run, and possibly ruin, the exploitation of those colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world which were so long their outright colonies or "spheres of influence."

This does not mean that U.S. imperialism is going to make the old colonial powers give up their colonies. Not at all. U.S. imperialism has to keep French and British capitalism afloat—this was the key purpose of the Marshall Plan, ECA, NATO, etc. Exploitation of Africa is vital to the survival of French and British capitalism and Wall Street's government is doing all it can—within reason—to prevent the African colonies from gaining

independence. For the U.S. State Department "within reason" means all measures short of igniting the colonial revolution which has already swept across Asia and into the Mideast, and which in China went beyond the first stage of anti-imperialism to the abolition of capitalism itself.

U.S. imperialism deemed the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt last fall as an adventure that might set off the Arab revolution. It therefore pulled the rug from under its allies and set itself up as the imperialist arbiter of Mideast affairs. Using the techniques it has long practiced in its own semi-colonial backyard—South America—it has already brought about the overthrow of the representative government of Jordan and sent the Sixth Fleet, with its atomic weapons, steaming up to threaten Syria and Egypt, Jordan's militant Arab allies.

Things haven't reached that stage as yet in Africa so the

U.S. has not supplanted Anglo-French imperialism. It has merely taken a supervisory position. Nixon's tour of eight African countries was to let the African governments know this and also to give a hint of it to the American people for previously the U.S. has not had much to do with Africa.

Of one thing we can be sure. U.S. Big Business, which Nixon represents, has no bleeding heart for the freedom struggles in Africa. Though Vice-President Nixon said very flattering things to Kwame Nkrumah at Ghana's independence celebration, there was not one U.S. government act or word that he could point to which aided or encouraged the Gold Coast revolution that had brought independence. Indeed, the same administration that sent Nixon to Ghana refused a passport to Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, who had been invited by Nkrumah because of his historic role in starting Pan-Africanism and forging the bonds of solidarity

between the Negro people of the U.S. and Africans. It is also an open secret that were Nkrumah not Prime Minister but a private citizen he could not get a visa to enter the U.S. He would be accused of professing "subversive" ideas and of having had "subversive" associations.

As imperialist supervisor of Africa, the U.S. will take its cut. France and Britain well realize this and are resentful. France has invited German capital into a sort of partnership to snatch up the good African investments before U.S. capital gets them. U.S. capitalists have tripled their investments in Africa since the war. But the total is still only about \$800 million. Most of this is in South Africa—a country U.S. businessmen find quite congenial. The rest is mostly in Liberia, "the American colony," as it is called in Africa. This impoverished and backward country is almost owned outright by Firestone Rubber Co.

U.S. imperialism offers no hope

to the African people. It will keep them in colonial status if it can. If it can't it will try to convert them into semi-colonies like the "banana" republics of Central America or like Liberia. For real political and economic independence the people of Africa must depend upon their own strength and fighting spirit—against all imperialists.

How About Loyalty of Fish

The Wagner administration in New York is apparently concerned about conserving its supply of red herrings for use in the coming elections. The City Water Commissioner announced May 6 that a "loyalty" oath is being required of applicants for permits to fish in city reservoirs. Two members of the national committee of the Communist Party, Fred Fine and Sid Stein, denied such fishing permits, have announced they will make a court appeal.

The Civil Rights Fight And the White Worker

By Fred Halstead

One of the things that stands out most strikingly to all who have observed at first hand the Montgomery Protest Movement, is its similarity to the militant strike struggles which swept the nation's industrial areas during the rise of the CIO over 20 years ago, and which wrought such beneficial changes in the lives of America's working people.

In Montgomery, as in the strike struggles of the Thirties, the movement is solidly based on the only force capable of sustaining a successful fight—the masses of the working people who suffer oppression and have nothing whatsoever to lose from bringing about a change; as a matter of fact, they can only gain.

In Montgomery an organization was created, the Montgomery Improvement Association, which like the best of the organizing committees of the industrial unions drew its power from the direct participation of the people. The MIA charged no restrictive dues, and welcomed all who contributed to the fight.

REAL DEMOCRACY

In the anti-Jim Crow protest movement there is evidence of talented and experienced mass organizers. Strike techniques have been used with ingenuity and effectiveness—an organized relief system, publicity, legal defense, systematic appeals for material aid, and the magnificently organized car pool. There were the frequent mass meetings at which the ranks were informed of developments and urged to participate with both their energies and their ideas. There the suffering people, so long divided, came together to find themselves strong. And there, the voice of protest, so long stifled, spoke out and was heard around the world.

Above all in Montgomery the power of direct mass action was in evidence. The movement was no longer restricted to court actions and appeals to government officials.

The birth of such a movement was spontaneous only in the sense that the objective conditions for it were ripe. Mass indignation in Montgomery reached fever pitch over the arrest of Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat on a bus. But such high points of feeling have come before, and passed away without



E. D. NIXON

much lasting effect. It took skilled hands to act decisively at that moment, to formulate a timely demand, create an organization, and mobilize the people for battle.

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., the movement's most prominent leader, has made no secret of the fact that it was not he who organized the bus protest. It does not detract from the courageous role of the ministers who are the movement's main spokesmen, or of the young lawyers such as Fred Grey, to point out that it took a different kind of skill to launch and organize the mass movement—the kind of skill learned by workers in the class struggle, the skill of a militant trade unionist.

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

While chairing the New York Madison Square Garden Rally honoring freedom fighters from the South a year ago May 24, A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, introduced a member of his union as "the humble sleeping car porter who organized the Montgomery bus protest." That man was E. D. Nixon, a veteran union organizer and civil-rights fighter who has been conducting the struggle of his class and his people in Montgomery for over 20 years.

E. D. Nixon, who has helped organize white as well as Negro workers into unions in Montgomery, is a symbolic figure. He epitomizes the necessity and the promise of an alliance between the labor movement and the Negro freedom fighters. Such a fighting alliance is after all

the only way to defeat Jim Crow and end the anti-labor Southern political system which rests upon segregation.

Most of the Negro freedom fighters and a significant number of white trade unionists are well aware of the need for this alliance. The present top leaders of American labor, however, persist in directing the energies of the labor movement into supporting the Democratic Party rather than into all-out support for the Southern freedom fighters and a drive to organize the South.

THE NEED IS THERE

Those who apologize for the labor officials say that you can't move too fast, you can't get ahead of the thinking of the workers. But the Southern white workers—as well as the Negroes—are desperately in need of organization, and they know it. They are desperately in need of political representatives more responsive to their needs than Southern Democrats, and they know it. The mass of white Southern workers will swallow their prejudice and unite with their Negro fellow workers only in a struggle for common needs. An all-out drive to organize the South, sparked by demands to greatly improve Southern wages and living conditions is the only thing capable of producing this kind of solidarity. Backed up by the vast material resources and means for defense available to the union movement, and united with mass movements like those in Montgomery and Tallahassee, it would be hard to beat.

This is the direction in which the heads of the labor move-

ment should be leading the organized workers. The entire executive council of the AFL-CIO, for example, should be standing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial this May 17 along with every union member they could get to follow them. That is where the full power of the labor movement belongs.

However, only a relatively small part of this power will be there—the Negro workers involved in the civil rights fight, and the advance guard of the white workers, the militants, many of them radicals. But they have a key role to play.

The Southern freedom fighters have found themselves compelled to organize the Prayer Pilgrimage to arouse the nation against a hostile Democratic Congress and a Republican administration deaf to the voice of the Negro people and the labor movement. What good has the Negro vote for Eisenhower done? What good has the labor vote for the Democrats done? How much better it would have been to turn the power of the labor movement to the support of candidates from the ranks of labor and the freedom fighters, independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

It is up to the trade unionists who support a Negro-Labor alliance to fight within the union movement for an abandonment of the hopeless policy of reliance upon the Democratic party, and to advocate instead reliance on the independent mass action of the workers and the Negro people themselves, the organization of an independent Labor Party, and an all-out drive to organize the South.

Unsparring Study of Negro Upper Class

BLACK BOURGEOISIE. By E. Franklin Frazier. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957. 264 pp., \$4.00.

Here is an extremely important book. It is the first thoroughgoing social study of the thin, upper social stratum of the Negro community in America. The importance, strength, wealth,

ideology and future of this upper class has been the subject of much discussion, guesswork and plain fantasy. Professor Frazier has done the long-needed job of making a scientific and historical scrutiny of this "talented tenth." The days of guesswork are over—he has provided us with the economic, social and psychological facts.

OUTSTANDING AUTHORITY

Any book by this author would command serious attention. He is one of the nation's leading sociologists and, as his works on the Negro family, etc., have demonstrated, the outstanding authority on the sociology of the Negro people in America. Moreover, Professor Frazier is not a member of the narrow-vision school which predominates in his branch of social science. He is able to establish the position of the subject he is writing about both in history and in the present world context. Finally, he does not write in that terrible jargon that American sociology has developed in an attempt to prove that it is really a science. He writes clearly, swiftly and has the happy ability to trace a contemporary feature back to its roots in a few sentences.

To a greater degree than any other minority in America the Negro people are proletarian or working farmers. Yet within the Negro community there has been a social differentiation. An upper stratum emerged as early as in slavery days in the form of the household servants and artisans—and from them a community of free Negroes. This upper social stratum continues in changed form and composition today. In the past few decades of prosperity it has increased numerically and enjoyed greater economic security. Though too conventionally "American" to employ the term, it considers itself a Negro "bourgeoisie." What are the facts and fictions about it?

REALITY AND MAKE BELIEVE

The first half of Frazier's book is devoted to an examination of the realities of the world of the Negro upper class. The second to the world of make-believe with which this class deceives itself.

An analysis of the actual economic position of this upper class reveals that its economic basis is negligible in the national economy. Negro business, so loudly extolled and exaggerated by the

Negro press, turns out to be financially insignificant, a growth restricted to profiting from those sales and services left to it by the segregation of the Negro masses.

So terribly are the Negro people cheated of equal opportunities by white-supremacist capitalism that jobs and professions which in the white community place the holder in the upper layers of the working class or in the lower middle class, in the Negro community put the holder in the upper class. Thus the "black bourgeoisie" is in its bulk composed of white-collar workers.

What is noticeable immediately about this bourgeoisie is that it is not bourgeois in the classic sense of being the owner of capital and the employer of labor. Those who are actually entrepreneurs are distinguished for the small size of their capital, as capital is measured in this country. The overwhelming bulk of the Negro upper class is without capital, its economic superiority to the mass of the Negro people is based on its higher wages or salaries.

In Part II, "The World of Make Believe," the author relentlessly dissects the self-deception and hollowness of the upper-class life in which Negro "society" tries to act out its wishes. Though a socialist can have no sympathy for the ambition of the Negro upper class to separate itself from the mass of the Negro people whom it secretly has come to despise as an embarrassment before the whites, one cannot help but sorrow at the terrible human waste and frustration to which racism has doomed these "socialites."

However, the task of those who wish to change the world is neither to laugh nor to weep, but to understand. And an understanding of this class is necessary in the struggle to end Jim Crow and to emancipate all labor—white and black.

Yet at present it is this class which leads the Negro people and even its mass organizations. As Professor Frazier shows, this class is politically opportunist and self-seeking to the core. It can never lead an uncompromising struggle. It will have to be replaced, if equality is to be won, with men and women from the ranks of the workers, who live in a world of reality—and harsh though it is, have learned to gaze at it with clear eyes and courageously set about fighting to change it.

George Lavan

Subscription \$3 per year
 \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign:
 \$4.00 per year; \$2.50 for 6
 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per
 year; \$1.75 for 6 months.
 Single Copies: 5¢ or more
 copies 6¢ each in U.S., 7¢
 each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People
 THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7466
 Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS
 Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Signed articles by contribu-
 tors do not necessarily re-
 present the Militant's policies.
 These are expressed in its
 editorials.
 "Entered as second class
 matter March 7, 1944 at the
 Post Office at New York,
 N.Y., under the act of March
 3, 1879."

Vol. XXI - No. 19

Monday, May 13, 1957

Eisenhower and King George III

The American people fought for and won independence from foreign domination in 1776. With the victory of the 13 colonies against British rule, a new nation was free to embark on its own historic course, develop its own resources and through its own internal struggle, to win new democratic rights for its people.

This is our history and we have considered it good. Now the people of Jordan and other Arab nations want their independence. They want to end foreign domination and make their own future. The principal obstacle in their path is the Big Business government in Washington. In 1776 the obstacle was King George III. In 1957 it is Eisenhower.

The Eisenhower Doctrine, passed by Congress this year, has been tested in the small country of Jordan.

To strangle the effort of the people of Jordan to win independence from all foreign domination, the United States is backing the reactionary feudal monarch, King Hussein. The independence movement is being driven underground. Unions are banned. Political parties are outlawed. Hundreds of freedom fighters have been arrested and jailed. Amman, the capital city of Jordan has been practically sealed off from the rest of the world under martial law. The King of Jordan dared to commit this violence

against the people of Jordan only because he had the backing of the U.S. imperialists.

The Eisenhower Doctrine was proclaimed as a U.S. guarantee of the independence and freedom of the countries of the Middle East. It quickly proved to be just the opposite. Using feudal puppets easily bought by the imperialist masters, the U.S. Big Business government is attempting to crush the revolutionary people of Jordan and guarantee the subservient, dictatorial powers of Hussein.

The Wall Street Journal correspondent, Philip Geyelin, on May 3 moaned about the movement of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in support of King Hussein. Geyelin was upset because U.S. "military muscle-flexing" was "seriously embarrassing the hero, King Hussein." The Sixth Fleet was withdrawn and Eisenhower's special envoy retreated in his plans to visit Jordan. The dictatorship of Hussein is not yet secure.

But the purposes of the Eisenhower Doctrine are clear. The revolutionary Arab masses understand. King Hussein is forced to try to conceal his relations with the U.S. The American people must also understand. And unless we are ready to renounce our own revolutionary history, we must demand that U.S. imperialism get out of the Middle East.

New Support for Morton Sobell

The Reverend A. J. Muste, chairman emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and an editor of the magazine Liberation, made a noteworthy declaration, May 1, in New York on the case of Morton Sobell. He declared that after studying the case he was convinced that "outside of the Department of Justice, there are very few people left who don't believe that at the very least Morton Sobell is entitled to a new trial."

In taking this stand, Rev. Muste joins a growing list of notables. Among them are such prominent scientists as Harold Urey, J. Robert Oppenheimer and the late Albert Einstein. Others supporting the demand for a new trial include such figures as the journalist Elmer Davis, the English philosopher Bertrand Russell, the famed musician Pablo Casals, Warren K. Billings and Senator William Langer of North Dakota.

Even a brief review of the Sobell case serves to make clear why these prominent individuals and many others so gravely doubt that justice was done. Sobell was tried, along with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, in a whipped-up atmosphere of witch-hunt hysteria. Before the case even reached a jury, Sobell was "convicted" in the press of delivering atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. Yet the government never made such a charge. The prosecution confined itself to the deliberately vague charge of "conspiring" with the Rosenbergs to commit unspecified acts of espionage.

The principal "evidence" that Sobell had so conspired was the unconfirmed word of one man — and that man was an admitted perjurer facing government

prosecution. This was Max Elitcher, who, as a result of his cooperation with the government never had to face the charge of perjury.

Sobell was pictured by the government as a man who acknowledged his guilt in advance by fleeing the country to Mexico and who was apprehended by the authorities only after the Mexican government had deported him from that country.

Last month the Mexican government issued an official denial that it had deported Sobell. Thus it helped confirm Sobell's charge that he, along with his family, had been kidnaped at the instigation of the U.S. government while vacationing in Mexico. He was brutally beaten and brought across the border. Only then did he hear of any charges against him. Whereupon, he waived extradition from Texas and voluntarily came to New York to face trial.

Sentenced to a 30-year term, Sobell is being held in America's worst penal hellhole, Alcatraz, an institution which is supposed to be used solely for incorrigible criminals who cannot be managed in other prisons. He is separated from his family by three thousand miles, able to have visitors once a month and to write a single page letter once a week. Constantly harassed, he has now been informed that he is writing "too small" on the single sheet allotted. All of this cruel and unusual treatment is deliberately designed to force him to confess to a crime he steadfastly swears he never committed.

We hope that many more in the labor and liberal movement will follow the example of A. J. Muste in demanding justice for Morton Sobell.

The Obituaries for McCarthy

The late Senator Joseph McCarthy got a generally bad press on the occasion of his death. With the exception of the blatantly reactionary wing of the daily press, most editorial comments deplored his unsavory methods in fighting "communism." But the most significant feature of McCarthy, and the movement he represented, went largely unnoticed. That was the fact that the movement which rallied behind the Senator from Wisconsin represented incipient American fascism — the first stage of an American version of the Nazi movement.

McCarthy, as a sinister political figure, was spawned by the witch hunt. He grew out of the system of "subversive" lists, loyalty oaths, job screenings and such thought-control laws as the Smith Act. This witch hunt was ushered in together with the cold war by the Democratic administration. It was further developed and refined by the succeeding Republican administration.

For a brief period McCarthy became an independent power in opposition to both parties. Republicans who cheered while he castigated the Democrats for "twenty years of treason" came to quail as he extended the period by one year to cover them. He became the Frankenstein's monster of the bi-partisan witch-hunters.

Particularly noteworthy during this pe-

riod of his rise, was the revolting spectacle of the liberal Democrats, like Humphrey of Minnesota, who sought to "out-flank" him from the right. One of the prime results of this cowardly and treacherous course was the Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act, the first in American history to declare a political party illegal.

McCarthy continued to prosper on the basis of such "opposition." But the political and social climate in the country proved unripe for his fascist perspective. The Wall Street tycoons who control the U.S. government decided they weren't ready to try to impose a fascist dictatorship on the country and decided to put him on ice for the time being.

The Senate voted to censure McCarthy after the November election showed a swing back to the Democrats, underscoring the fact that it was not yet the season for unbridled McCarthyism.

McCarthy died, not in "oblivion," but under wraps. He will be long and bitterly remembered for the countless victims of his savage application of Hitler's big-lie technique. At the same time it is well also to remember that it was the witch hunt that gave him his start. Until that witch hunt is eliminated from the American scene, root and branch, the danger of future McCarthyisms remains with us.

British Forum Meeting

(Continued from page 1)

—that their particular role is in the field of ideas. E. P. Thompson, one of the editors of *The Reasoner* (to be reborn next week as *The New Reasoner*) said the Forums must orient themselves toward the Labor movement, and the hundreds of thousands of Socialists therein.

PERSPECTIVES

Clearly the whole Forum movement is a transitional form

Jordan King Issues Ban On Unions

On May 1 the puppet government of Jordan created by King Hussein ordered the dissolution of all trade unions and employee associations. All political parties have been outlawed. Hundreds of nationalists have been imprisoned. Still King Hussein is compelled to conceal his intimate relations with U.S. imperialists. He has accepted U.S. financial aid to Jordan but disassociates that country from the Eisenhower Doctrine.

King Hussein is attempting to consolidate his dictatorial powers with the preparation of "treason" trials against former members of Jordan's cabinet. Two exiled Chiefs of Staff, Maj. Gen. Ali Abu Nuwar and Maj. Gen. Ali Mayari, and the former head of intelligence, Col. Mahmud el-Mussa will be tried in absentia along with a dozen army officers imprisoned in Amman.

Nuwar and Hayari, both in Cairo, accused Hussein of declaring martial law in Jordan in order to thwart the "will of the people." They also declared that the Jordan crisis was instigated by the United States as part of an "imperialist conspiracy" to force the Eisenhower Doctrine down the throats of the Arab people.

—though I would suggest a long-term transitional form—towards the crystallization of a genuine Marxist revolutionary trend in British politics. These are early days to say how soon this trend will emerge as a real force. Many people feel that the place for Marxists now is inside the Labor Party, where the mass of politically-interested workers in Britain are to be found, so that vital experience in leadership and mass work can be gained and the poison of Stalinist methods shed.

Meanwhile the large-scale post-Congress walk-outs from the CP are under way. In Edinburgh Don Renton, a Party member of 28 years, unemployed leader in the early 1930's, International Brigader, prisoner of Franco, CP area organizer, has quit. In his resignation statement he said he preferred to put loyalty to principles above loyalty to leaders.

In Lancashire an outstanding resignation is that of Dick Nettleton, CP member since 1939, former national organizer of the Young Communist League. In London Alison McLeod, Daily Worker television critic, has quit the party and the paper—making the 13th Daily Worker resignation. In Oxford, it is understood that history don Christopher Hill has resigned, though he himself will not confirm this.

BUILD GROUP IN CP

On the other hand, in Leeds, Nottingham, and elsewhere in the industrial Midlands and North, there are signs of a Marxist opposition taking shape with the intention of staying inside the party and fighting in an organized way. How long their open, principled fight can last remains to be seen. But it is already having an effect among the rank-and-file industrial workers in the party.

One working-class member of the industrial branch at Dagenham—home of the key Ford and Briggs automobile factories—started his fellow-members this week when he told them to read Trotsky's *The Revolution Be-*



PETER FRYER was special correspondent for the *London Daily Worker* in Budapest last fall. Because he wrote the truth about the struggle of the Hungarian working class to get rid of Stalinism and establish workers' democracy, his dispatches were suppressed and he was subsequently expelled from the British Communist Party. Following his expulsion he stated: "I remain a Communist. I will go on fighting for the transformation of the Communist Party into a genuine Communist party." Last week Peter Fryer joined the staff of the *Militant* as its correspondent from Great Britain.

trayed. And the CP member who threw light on "Lessons of the Stalin Era" at the Forum conference has been invited to give a talk to the Briggs shop stewards on Sunday night.

These are remarkable developments. And one of the most important and most encouraging features of all is the utter failure of the CP to drive a wedge between the workers and the "intellectuals." The working-class critics of Stalinism and the intellectual critics have never been so close.

Well-Attended Brooklyn Meet Hears Gates, Dobbs, Muste

By Harry Ring

BROOKLYN, May 5—Three hundred and fifty people turned out at the Brighton Community Center tonight for a discussion of "The Road to Socialism in America." On the platform were John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and A. J. Muste of Liberation magazine. Composed largely of supporters of the CP and SWP, the audience displayed interest and enthusiasm for the frank but fraternal exchange of views on the subject of the evening.

Opening the discussion, Dobbs declared that the source of the ever-present war danger lies in the insoluble crisis of world capitalism which is being pushed back by the powerful colonial revolution and by swiftly rising productive power of the Soviet bloc. The war danger, he said, comes primarily from American Big Business which is spearheading the world counter-revolutionary offensive. While the increasing power of the anti-capitalist world has compelled imperialism to slow down its war timetable, U.S. capitalism remains basically hostile to peaceful co-existence with the anti-capitalist world, Dobbs said.

CLASS-STRUGGLE POLICY

Events have demonstrated, he continued, that Wall Street can be checked only by a worldwide class struggle against it. That is why, he said, it is necessary to defend the colonial freedom fighters and the workers' states against imperialism. He also called for solidarity with the budding political revolution in the Soviet sphere. This struggle to re-establish workers' democracy based on Soviet property forms, he said, aids the world revolution against capitalism.

Turning to the domestic scene, Dobbs hit at the Communist Party leadership's concept of building a "people's anti-monopoly coalition" based on political collaboration with capitalists. Such a "coalition," he pointed out, has been in effect since the 1930's in the form of the labor movement's support for the Democratic Party. The record shows, Dobbs said, that the labor-Democratic coalition has served only to weaken labor politically and to strengthen the hand of reaction.

The central need today, Dobbs said, is to help forge a left wing in the mass movement advocating a class-struggle program. Such a left wing, he said, must push for the formation of a labor party based on the unions in alliance with the Negro people and the working farmers.

Since a labor party will not be formed immediately, it is especially important, Dobbs argued, for the socialist movement to run its own electoral tickets. Here in New York, he said, the SWP is running Joyce Cowley for mayor and will use the campaign to spread the socialist answer to war, to explain the need for a labor party and to help lay the basis for building a left wing in the mass movement. Such a course, Dobbs concluded, is the most effective way to combat imperialism and to create the forces that will spearhead the struggle for a socialist America.

PRaises MEETING

On foreign policy, he said the central objective must be the fight for "peaceful coexistence." The growing strength of the socialist world and the weakening of the capitalist world, he contended, makes a new era of co-existence practical and realizable, even though it is being ushered in slowly and painfully.

Gates concluded by expressing his gratification at the successful meeting and declared it a demonstration "that we can work and act together while we discuss those things on which we disagree."

A. J. Muste devoted himself primarily to the continuing need for common frank thinking and discussion by all radical tendencies. Such a discussion is necessary, he said, because "None of us today can see clearly in the concrete sense the road to socialism." Such advice, he added, "is not counsel of despair, but of hope. If we bring all, or approximately all, of the movement into a serious, continuous discussion, we will have accomplished a political act of enormous significance."

The summaries were the most noteworthy features of the evening, as Gates and Dobbs came answered one another's arguments in a spirit of earnest debate.

Contending that Dobbs was incorrect in characterizing the anti-monopoly coalition policy as "anti-class struggle," Gates declared that a struggle "of all the people would be even more productive than just that of the workers alone."

Taking issue with the need for

U.S. Oil Barons Pump Vast Profits Out of Mideast Crisis

Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey earned a net profit of \$237 million in the first three months of 1957, as compared with \$205 million in the first three months of 1956 — the company's banner-

year, when it earned "more money than any oil company anywhere at any time." (April 10 New York Herald-Tribune.)

According to the April 27 N. Y. Herald-Tribune, "a spokesman [of the company] said a 'significant' portion of the increase could be attributed to the booming demand for petroleum products in Western Europe caused by the Suez Canal shutdown."

Standard of New Jersey, which is only one part of the Standard Oil empire, has vast holdings in both hemispheres. When foreign oil stocks took a nose dive on the market last year as a result of the Mideast crisis and the blocking of the

Suez Canal, Standard of New Jersey's stock continued to rise. The company added greatly to its profits last fall and early this year by selling its Venezuelan oil to Western Europe at "crisis"-inflated prices.

Restoration of navigation in the Suez Canal will not hurt the company either, since, with other Standard associates, Standard of New Jersey owns two thirds of all the oil in Arabia. And now there is an excellent new and additional market for this oil. The U.S. Sixth Fleet is patrolling the Mediterranean. Its fuel needs are great. And it is close at hand, so that transportation costs for the company are low.

Workers, Students Act Against Colombia Ruler

Mass student demonstrations and a general strike in Bogota Colombia are threatening to topple the bloody dictatorship of Wall-Street puppet General Gustavo Rojas

Pinilla. The capital city of Bogota has been occupied by the Army, apparently the only group in the country which still remains loyal to Rojas. The Catholic Church of Colombia, according to the May 6 New York Times, is expected to withdraw its support for the Rojas regime.

The reactionary Conservative Party leaders who for the most part backed Rojas when he took power in 1953 in a military coup, have already indicated willingness to dump him in favor of a military junta or some other device since his almost unbelievably cruel, corrupt and bloody regime is no longer able to control the insurgent Colombian masses.

STUDENTS BEGIN IT
 The present uprising began last week when university students struck protesting plans for supporters of Rojas to have him re-elected president by a constituent assembly which he had appointed for that purpose. Rojas' police then attacked demonstrators with clubs, tear gas shells and streams of red dye, designed to mark oppositionists for police roundups. By May 5 when the army occupied Bogota, police had killed at least five persons and injured hundreds more, banks and shops were closed, and industrial strikes were spreading throughout the South American nation of 13 million people.

Colombia has been in constant crisis featuring guerrilla warfare in the countryside since April 9, 1948 when a general strike and uprising was sparked by the assassination of Jorge Gaitan, the left-wing leader of the opposition Liberal Party. A succession of tottering regimes, some including right-wing elements of the Liberal Party followed until Rojas took over with the backing of the U.S. State Department and the Catholic Church and established a rigid military dictatorship.

A BRITISH government court of inquiry, appointed to investigate the biggest strike in England since 1926, has made its recommendations. The strike began last March with 200,000 shipyard workers and grew until it involved 1,500,000 workers in the metal fabricating industries before it was called off pending the court's recommendations. The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions had demanded a 10% wage increase for its 3 million members. The bosses offered 5% on provision that no new wage claims be made for one year and that the union cooperate in speeding up operations. The court recommended May 2, an increase of about 5% with no strings attached or of about 6 1/4% with the wage freeze and speed-up provisions. Union officials began meeting May 4 to consider the court's proposal. A Tory government drive reducing welfare benefits and raising rents, and a steep hike in the cost of living since the Suez fiasco were the cause of the wage demands.

MAY DAY IN BERLIN featured huge turnouts in both the East and West sectors. About 160,000 persons gathered May 1 at a trade union rally in West Berlin. The central demand was for the 40-hour week.

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY has launched a campaign against the testing of H-bombs. Leaders of the party demanded May 5 that the Government postpone its planned hydrogen tests as a step toward international agreement to ban nuclear explosions. The demands were voiced in speeches throughout England by leaders including Laborite right-winger Hugh Gaitskell and left-winger Aneurin Bevan. Gaitskell attacked Tory Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd's assertion that Communists were behind the agitation against the scheduled British tests. What is really behind it, he said, are scientific reports indicating that if the tests were continued "the health of the human race might be damaged. Bevan said "No weapon which is at the same time a weapon of suicide can be a weapon of diplomacy."

IN CEYLON a general strike of plantation workers was called for May Day by the three plantation unions to enforce a demand that May Day be a full-paid holiday. About 500,000 workers are involved. Government employees in Ceylon previously won the same demand.

Introductory Offer!

A Six-Month Subscription
 To The Militant Only \$1

The Militant

116 University Place
 New York 3, N. Y.

Name

Street Zone

City State



The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

Mass Action Has Won the Victories

It was in 1941, when the U.S. was preparing to go to war, that the anger of the Negro people with their exclusion from the expanding industry and their segregation in the drafted armed forces boiled over. The Negro masses sensed that something more was needed than the old, unrewarding methods of lobbying and sending delegations to plead with the politicians. When A. Philip Randolph proposed a mass March on Washington to demand equality in employment and in the armed forces the Negro people recognized that this was the kind of action the situation demanded. They responded enthusiastically and March-On-Washington organizations mushroomed all over the U.S.

THREAT BROUGHT FIRST FEPC

The threat of such a mass protest frightened the politicians, from Roosevelt down, so much that whereas they had earlier been "too busy" to receive delegations of Negro leaders who wished to protest Jim Crow, they now began running around putting all kinds of pressure on the MOW leaders to call off the March. Randolph caved in under the tremendous pressure and did call off the March in return for a small part of what the movement demanded. This was the wartime FEPC, which had no real enforcement powers and which did not cover industries other than defense industries, nor government employment nor the armed services. Yet it was the mere threat of such a march which produced what is still a precedent and symbol for the U.S. — a federal FEPC.

AN ALLY ABROAD

In the post-war period the Negro people of America continued their heroic struggle for equal rights. In this fight they received support from allies in the trade union movement, from socialists and from liberals. But they found now that they had a new mighty ally on their side — whose weight would help tip the scales on many issues. This mighty ally was the colonial revolution, sweeping Asia like a storm and beginning to blow in the Middle East and Africa. The millions and millions composing this revolutionary movement were people of color. They scorned the U.S. imperialists' cold-war propaganda about democracy because they knew about Jim Crow in the U.S.

Thus when the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954 overruled its old Plessy decision and declared school segregation unconstitutional it was listening not only to the voices of the Negro people and other opponents of Jim Crow in the U.S. but to the voices of the colored people of India, Indonesia, China, Indo-China and all the other countries of the colonial revolution.

The Supreme Court's decision has brought about important desegregation victories in the border states and in the District of Columbia. However, the court's follow-up implementation decision was so toothless that the source of the cancer of racism — the South itself — has for three years successfully defied the decision and plans to make this defiance permanent.

This defiance is compounded of statements of interposition in Congress, amendment of state constitutions, rigging of school laws, outlawing of the NAACP on the governmental level and the unleashing of physical and economic terror by mob action, lynchings, bombings, creation of the White Citizens Councils, spread of the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations on the grass roots level.

Once again the masses of the Negro people have found themselves confronted with a crucial situation in which the old methods of lawsuits,

lobbying, letters to Congressmen, etc., don't do the job. This is illustrated by the decline in even the amount of lip service the liberals in the last two Congresses gave to the civil rights fight. Civil rights bills never even got as far as a filibuster — they died in committee. A new low even in campaign promises on civil rights was reached last year in the platforms adopted by the Republican and Democratic conventions.

Yet despite the political blind alley that the Negro people, like labor, finds itself in, the rank-and-file Negro masses are not discouraged but on the contrary want to fight. This was well demonstrated by the tremendous protest meetings, from coast to coast, following the lynching of 14-year old Emmett Till. The mobbing of Autherine Lucy provoked similar indignation showing that this anger was no passing mood.

MONTGOMERY

In the Deep South, where the Negro people suffer the most barbarous oppression and discrimination, this new fighting spirit produced the new method of struggle which the times demand. This was mass action. The united action of 50,000 people in one city against mistreatment and Jim Crow on the buses. The people of Montgomery in their historic boycott have shown the power of mass action and militancy. They have spearheaded the counter-offensive to the WCC and the Dixiecrats. They have set an example of how to win victories in this day and age.

It is significant that the present March on Washington originates in the South. It was first projected at the meeting of Southern leaders who demanded that Eisenhower speak out against the racist reign of terror. Since then it has been broadened to a national movement and as a prayer-pilgrimage will present no single specific demand in the nation's capital.

The March-On-Washington, called off in 1941, had as its demand fair employment practices and an integrated army. Thus its effectiveness could have been measured by the results in these terms. The present prayer-pilgrimage will make a general protest about conditions. Its effectiveness thus will be measured only generally. But one fact is indisputable. It will give the powers-that-be in Washington a close-up view of the determination of the Negro people, in greater numbers than the politicians of Washington have ever seen before, to get something done about Jim Crow, about the reign of terror in the South, about the runaway civil rights gets in Congress, about the Southern defiance of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, and about all the other violations of their rights.

THEY'LL COUNT THE THOUSANDS

A gigantic turnout cannot but enhance the anti-Jim Crow struggle and the political position of the Negro people. More than that, it will confirm for the Negro people nationally the lesson Montgomery has learned and taught in the past year — namely, the power of mass action. This is not to say that the present March on Washington alone will cave in the white supremacists, North and South. A long line of battles loom ahead before that glorious day is reached. One of those battles will be the formation by the Negro people along with labor and working farmers of a new party — untainted by Jim Crow and pledged to its destruction — a labor party. But that's another story in itself.

This story is that the present prayer-pilgrimage March on Washington is a great forward step in the fight to end race discrimination in America.

Want Integrated Schools, Raise for Teachers, in N. Y.

By Joyce Cowley
Socialist Workers Party Candidate
For Mayor of New York

The recent public hearings on Mayor Wagner's proposed budget for the coming year were highlighted by a stormy 14-hour session on education in which 82 speakers were heard. Teachers protested the drastic cut in the salary increases requested by the Board of Education, and organizations fighting for school integration charged that the Mayor had deleted items totaling \$15 million which were crucial to putting the integration program into effect.

The \$23 million originally proposed in pay increases for teachers was cut to \$6.4 million. Two thousand angry and defiant teachers picketed City Hall. At a public meeting that followed, when Charles Cogan of the Teachers Guild asked for suggestions on further action, the teachers roared "strike, strike." Since there is a state law against strikes by public employees, teacher organizations considered a series of one-day stoppages which apparently would not violate this law, and the use of paid pickets to enforce the boycott of extra-curricular activities. A slowdown, which could be effected by a sudden rise in requests for sick leave, has also been suggested.

Only an independent labor party, with no obligations except to the working people it represents, will give top priority to the education of our children. teachers, or on the parents and organizations fighting to implement the integration program. We need a Mayor in City Hall who considers education more important than a reduction in the real estate tax, but we can't expect this from a Democratic politician, or a Republican either, since both parties are tied to real estate and Big-Business interests.

INTEGRATION ITEMS

It was anticipated that the hearing on school integration would be controversial, because civic groups in Queens had threatened to "storm City Hall" to oppose the program. But only one speaker for Jim-Crow schools appeared, Matthew J. Shevlin, Americanism Chairman of the American Legion in Queens. Speakers from the Urban League, the Intergroup Committee on New York Public Schools, the United Parents Association and other organizations demanded that items essential to the integration program be restored to the budget.

The Mayor has submitted a record budget of almost \$2 billion but, as usual, the urgent needs of our schools and our teachers have been neglected. Wagner has been more attentive to real estate interests, promising there will be no tax increase and even hinting there might be a one-cent drop in the basic tax rate.

The Mayor's budget devotes a number of pages to a glowing recital of the accomplishments of his administration, and according to the New York Times it takes on "the color of a campaign handbook for use in his fall campaign." This handbook is obviously not going to make a favorable impression on the

est in her proposals. In some cases prolonged discussion and questions from the floor follow her remarks. Although no locals have yet endorsed her proposal for an independent labor slate, many workers and local officers have thanked her warmly for raising the issue at their meetings.

Ford Local Wants Union Man on Detroit Council

DETROIT — A potentially important development in Detroit politics was the recent decision by the executive board of UAW Ford Local 600 in favor of at least one labor candidate being run for the Common Council in this year's city election campaign.

The specific motion passed by the executive board, on the recommendation of its officers, was "That Local 600 urge the Wayne County CIO Council to choose and endorse from the ranks of labor at least one candidate to run in the 1957 elections for the Detroit Common Council."

Just how the Wayne County CIO Council will react to this proposal remains to be seen. Its present leaders are all active in the Democratic Party, and hostile to any political action that would even imply a break with the Democratic machine. A mere discussion of the question would represent a refreshing change for the Council, which has gone down the line for the Democrats 100% in recent years.

SUPPORT FROM LOVELL

On the other hand, the Local 600 action was greeted with enthusiasm by Sarah Lovell, Socialist-Workers-Party-endorsed candidate for mayor. For the last two months she has been campaigning to persuade the labor movement to call a united labor conference to nominate its own candidates for municipal office before July 27, the last filing date for the fall primaries.

"The Local 600 proposal," she said, "is a promising beginning. Of course there is no reason why the labor movement, so strong in our city, should run only one or a few candidates of its own. It should nominate a full slate. Also, the selection of a slate should not be by the CIO alone, but by the CIO and AFL jointly with their allies among the Negroes, housewives, young people, etc."

"But it is a good step in the right direction. I hope that it will lead to similar action by other union locals, and to a fruitful discussion in the whole labor movement about what role it is going to play in politics this year."

Mrs. Lovell has been visiting GM, Ford and Chrysler locals, explaining the need for a break with the Democrats and the running of an independent labor slate.

The response at these meetings is usually one of real interest

MAYWOOD, Calif., May 5—

The strike of 4,000 workers at the Chrysler assembly plant here was settled two weeks ago. Terms of the settlement between the Chrysler Corporation and Local 230 of the United Auto Workers have not yet been made public, but semi-official statements give the details as follows:

(1) The rate of production was frozen for the duration of the 1957 models at approximately 516 cars per day. Production had been raised from 473 cars to 525 when the strike was called on the speed-up issue, and during

the negotiations Chrysler at one point even demanded a rate of 616 cars per day.

(2) Chrysler agreed to hire enough additional manpower (about 118 men) to equalize the number of men on shifts doing identical work.

(3) Skilled trades workers were no longer to be replaced by outside contracting, except in cases where the work was of such a nature that the plant men were not qualified to perform it.

(4) Workers discharged, or otherwise penalized for protesting the speed-up, were reinstated.

Local 230's strike reached a serious crisis in its third week. Rank-and-file morale was low because the strikers were not being given adequate strike relief and they were being left to fight the entire Chrysler Corporation with only their own local resources. At that time the UAW officialdom reversed its policies. Strike relief was greatly liberalized and other locals were allowed to contribute money directly to Local 230 instead of having their donations impounded and placed in the International's strike fund.

HELP FROM OTHER LOCALS

However, the greatest factor in settling the strike was the move on the part of other Chrysler locals to cut off overtime work and to prepare for strike action themselves. In addition some workers conducted "unauthorized" strike action in the Detroit Chrysler plants. When the Corporation saw that the Chrysler workers all over the country really meant business and were exerting pressure to spread the strike against speed-up, management began to bargain on a more reasonable basis.

Local 230's strike clearly posed a question mark over the Reuther administration's entire policy with respect to bargaining in the auto industry. Unlike the steel workers' and miners' unions, the Reuther leadership has always insisted upon a one-at-a-time strategy in auto. Under this policy, industry-wide bargaining with all of the companies at one time has been excluded. This policy, instead of winning better conditions for the auto workers, has allowed the industry to push speed-up — in many cases to higher levels than before the union was organized.

The Chrysler Corporation has craftily exploited the Reuther strategy. It points to the more intense speed-up in the GM system and claims that its competitive position compels it to raise work standards in its own plants. Militant unionists have pointed out time and again that instead of bringing GM speed-up into the Chrysler plants, the relatively better working conditions in the Chrysler plants should be brought into GM.

UNEQUAL CONTEST

The UAW's leadership has extended its one-at-a-time strategy to the point where it now proposes that speed-up and other problems which exist throughout the entire auto industry are to be combatted on a local union level. The pressure from the ranks has forced the International officials to allow individual locals, like UAW 230, to strike in an effort to change management policies which are formulated on a Corporation and industry-wide level.

But unequal contests of this kind can lead to the dissipation of the energy and militancy of the workers in a series of ineffective and isolated actions which cannot settle the speed-up problem. Reuther's answer to rank-and-file protests against speed-up at the recent convention was: "If you want to strike over speed-up, we'll give you authorization and backing. The International is just as militant as anyone else on this issue."

JUST OFF THE PRESS

The Santana Case
Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth
By Joyce Cowley
(An American Youth for Socialist Publication)
17 pages 10 cents

Order from:
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

With this demagoguery the Reuther administration is attempting to divert attention from the fact that the workers want an effective industry-wide struggle against speed-up and not permission to blow off some steam in isolated and often costly actions. The action of the workers throughout the Chrysler system, which brought about a favorable settlement of the Maywood strike, shows that token concessions by Reuther to demands for a struggle against speed-up will not be enough.

The militants in the UAW must draw the lessons of Local 230's strike. Local 230 could not make any progress, even on a local level, until the other Chrysler locals started to move into action. This proves the need for a national UAW council of production workers for the purpose of preparing for an industry-wide struggle against speed-up and for better working conditions in auto. Such a council would put the union in a stronger position to make some real progress in the 1958 negotiations.

Chrysler Plants In Detroit Hit by Twelve Walkouts

MAY 8 — The 23,000 workers of the Chrysler Corporation in the Detroit area today took a strike vote. Expectations were that the count would reveal an overwhelming majority favoring strike action.

The holding of a strike vote is the culmination of a series of job actions which off and on have interrupted production since the end of April. These rank-and-file walkouts are symptomatic of the frayed tempers of the Chrysler workers, who since the reorganization of the company's production methods have been subjected to an inhuman speed-up. On top of the speed-up is the fear of loss of jobs. The company's work standards reorganization resulted in some 20,000 Chrysler workers losing their jobs last year. Other job threats are automation, decentralization, i.e., runaway moves from Detroit by the company, and the replacing of the production of certain parts by purchase from outside suppliers.

The intermittent shutdowns of Detroit Chrysler in the past week have been over the last two grievances listed above. On May 2 the corporation discharged two shop stewards and a committeeman for allegedly interfering with attempts to move dies and welding fixtures out of the Detroit plant. In protest 124 truck drivers stopped work. Thereupon the company laid off 40,500 employees. On May 6 a crane operator at the South Vernon plant refused to load a die on a truck and walked off the job. He was suspended by the corporation and immediately 400 workers put down their tools.

The union has declared grievances against the company's moving of equipment to a new plant in Twinsburg, Ohio, without giving the union assurance that engineering and office workers in the Detroit plant who wish to move to Ohio will be given their jobs. Also demanded by the union is the return of the manufacturing of seat cushions and of die work to the Detroit plants. Both operations have been farmed out by the corporation to suppliers.

In the midst of these labor struggles the Chrysler Corporation made public its report for the first quarter of 1957 — the most profitable in its history. Net corporate earnings were 327% higher than in 1956.

A Day Together For Justice!

SOBELL BOAT RIDE
TO BEAR MOUNTAIN
Sunday, May 26
Roundtrip: Adults \$2.50
Children \$1.00
Tickets at: Morton Sobell
Committee
940 Broadway, N.Y.C.
Phone: AL 4-9983

...Major Cities Rally ...TALLAHASSEE

(Continued from page 1)

(Continued from page 1)
activities. The May 11 Afro-American reports: "Detroit. Special trains and buses will be used by some 5,000 persons, many of them from Local 600 UAW." From Chicago, Wiloughby Abner, local NAACP president, reports plans for special Freedom trains and buses. From Boston, Rev. Walter Davis reports high cooperation on a 15-car Freedom Train as well as buses. Baltimore is planning to have the largest delegation outside of Washington itself.

In New York, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Montgomery, Richmond, Philadelphia and Baltimore simultaneous mass meetings will be held on May 11 at noon. It was also announced that these same cities will hold Torchlight Motorcades bidding farewell to their Washington-bound delegations on May 15. The meetings were set up in a long distance conference between Rev. Kilgore, national director, and leaders in each of the cities all tied in on the same line.

In Washington over 60 churches are being set up as reception centers. Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery said that efforts would be made

to set up a conference with Congressional leaders for the morning of the rally. Dr. King will lead a procession of station wagons and cars from Montgomery, the same vehicles that sped the bus boycotters to victory.

In New York, Columbia University, City and Brooklyn Colleges will hold individual mass rallies. Harry Belafonte, Jackie Robinson and Sidney Poitier are leading a movement of celebrities to Washington. Besides trains and buses, at least 1,000 cars are expected to help transport New Yorkers to the capital. Among backers of New York's efforts are District 65, RWDSU; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and Local 338 Grocery Clerks Union.

The enthusiasm behind the MOW is expressed in Earl Brown's column, New York Amsterdam News, May 11: "ON TO WASHINGTON! Let's show the world we mean business. . . Both Republicans and Democrats. . . hem, haw and lie about the race question. . . The time's long overdue for us to organize nationally like the Rev. King did in Montgomery to fight them until they, not us, give up. Let's get started by marching to Washington. Then, let's keep going."

county school authorities to start integrating schools. The ICC action thus was a challenge to the Florida legislature which had, on April 18, adopted a resolution declaring the state would not abide by the Supreme Court decision on desegregation because it was "null and void."

Last February, Rev. K. S. Dupont, vice president of the ICC ran for City Commissioner. He was the first Negro since Reconstruction days to seek public office in Tallahassee. With the encouragement of the ICC, 4,000 Negroes registered in the last national elections. In adjacent Gadsden County, with a predominantly Negro population, "the right to vote" has limited Negro registration to five.

The backbone of Tallahassee's fight for equal rights are the heroic walkers. The student at Florida A&M University (Negro) are continuing to "walk in dignity rather than ride in humiliation." They have inspired students at the all-white Florida State University to defy the racist school board and solidarize themselves with the forward battalions for a new and better South. John Boardman who publicly supported Rev. Dupont was expelled from FSU. He had an answer: "I'm a human being first; a student second."

On March 4, Tallahassee's white supremacist "justice" sentenced three students, two Negroes and one white to 60 days in jail and a \$500 fine each for violating the city's new bus-seat assignment ordinance under which drivers tell passengers where to sit. The ICC is currently appealing these convictions. Meanwhile, Negroes are riding the predominantly Negro bus-runs sitting wherever they please, and stay off other buses where Jim-Crow seating is still enforced.

The May 17 March on Washington is an extension and deepening of the mass protest movements spearheaded by Montgomery and Tallahassee. The marchers, from Maine to California, in the spirit of these Southern vanguard troops will thunder out to the nation; Jim Crow Must Go.



JOYCE COWLEY

Workers' BOOKSHELF

By Anne Chester
Manager, Pioneer Publishers
This week Pioneer Publishers is featuring books and pamphlets on the Negro Struggle in America. These include:

THE JIM CROW MURDER OF MR. AND MRS. HARRY T. MOORE. (New Dangers and New Tasks Facing the Negro Struggle.) By George Breitman. 31 pages. 10 cents.

Written in memory of two courageous fighters for equality.

DESEGREGATION — Labor's Stake in the Fight for Negro Equality. By Jean Simon, 16 pages. 10 cents.

The Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation and the struggle to put it into effect.

THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO EQUALITY. By John Saund-

ers and Albert Parker. 48 pages. 10 cents. (Third Edition.) With a special article by Leon Trotsky on the Negro Struggle reprinted from the Militant, Aug. 15, 1942.

NEGROES ON THE MARCH. A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle. By Daniel Guerin. 192 pages. Cloth, \$2; paper \$1.50.

Phylon Magazine, a leading Negro publication says of this work: "The most painstaking attempt to analyze race relations in the U.S."

BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA, 1860 - 1880. By W. E. B. DuBois. (New Edition.) 716 pages. Special price \$5.50.

This book, by the foremost historian of the Negro question in America, sets forth, with

voluminous documentation, the true role of the slaves in fighting for their emancipation and of the freed men in the struggle to reorganize Southern society on a democratic basis, following the Civil War.

Order the above books and pamphlets from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

CORRECTION
In the May 6 issue of the Militant it was stated that Pioneer Publishers are distributors of book, I.W.W. — A Study of American Syndicalism, by Paul Brissenden. This was an error. Pioneer Publishers is only making the book available at a special price of \$5.75 (list price, \$7.50).